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Gauging West German
Susceptibility to
Authoritarianism

Report No. 230

April 16, 1956

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DATE 11/11/01 BY 1043

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Considerable time had elapsed since the last time a reading was taken on West German receptivity towards Nazi and authoritarian-type thinking. In view of the many developments of the last three years it was deemed advisable to check once more on the acceptability of Nazi and Neo-Nazi philosophies. Should such tendencies be present to a strong or increasing degree in the present-day sovereign Federal Republic of Germany serious consequences might well ensue for Western and particularly American policies vis-a-vis Germany. Questions and serious doubts concerning the democratization of Germany have been and still plague many in the Western camp. It behooves us, therefore, to always be prepared to answer the question of "whither Germany?"

The findings herein reported were derived from an 1816 case representative probability sample in West Germany of those 18 years of age and older. Interviewing was conducted between March 18 and 29, 1956 by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung n.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

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S U M M A R Y

In the three years since the last public opinion survey on the subject was made, the democratic philosophy seems to have made significant gains among the West German population. Whereas in December 1952, four out of ten would welcome the emergence of a party with "only the good sides of National Socialism" or would approve of having only a single strong national party which would represent all the people, the present survey reveals that such support has decreased to about one-quarter of the population.

Answers to other, newer questions also bring out encouraging attitudes. Majorities of the West German population feel that (1) The opinion of the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, should prevail over that of the Chancellor should there be a serious difference of opinion (2) A Bundestag delegate should be more responsible to his voters than to the party which put him up for office, and (3) A strong opposition is necessary for their form of government. While these attitudes are in the "right" direction, there is still considerable room for improvement. Sizeable minorities, ranging from 45% to 48%, while not opposed, remain to be convinced of the value of the more democratic concept. Pessimists might make much over these figures on the ground that if slight majorities can only be recorded in times of peak prosperity, one might doubt whether these majorities could withstand adversities such as a depression, or war.

Be that as it may, the West Germans themselves are not particularly alarmed about their present situation or developments. Small groups, about two out of ten, see any threats to political and social freedom of the individual from unions, the military, or any of the political parties; or feel that some leading public figure is possibly too autocratic or authoritarian.

I. In the Light of the Past

LESS THAN A QUARTER NOW FAVOR A "GOOD" NAZI-TYPE PARTY...

Whereas in December 1952 four out of ten West Germans said that they would like to see a party established "which only had the good sides of National Socialism", less than one quarter of the population (23%) are of that opinion today.

The difference between the 40% (found in 1952) and the present 23% is not reflected in increased opposition to such a party, since the percentage of those who would not like to see this happen is the same now as it was in 1952 (44% now as against 43% earlier). Apparently those who formerly approved of the idea but no longer do so now are uncertain whether they approve or not; that is, the percentage with no opinion has gone up from 17% to 33%.

"Would you like to see a party established which only had the good sides of National Socialism, or would you not like to see that happen?"

	West Germany	
	Dec. 1952 (1196)	March 1956 (1816)
Yes, would like to see it happen	40%	23%
No, would not like to see it happen	43	44
No opinion	17	33
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING MAIN REASON ADVANCED BY THOSE IN FAVOR....

By and large economic considerations were brought up as reasons why a party with the good sides of National Socialism would be desirable, with a higher standard of living as the reason most often given.

"Would you like to see a party established which only had the good sides of National Socialism, or would you not like to see that happen?"

IF "Yes, would like to see it happen":
Why would you like to see it happen?

West Germany

Our standard of living would rise:

7%

"Because economic conditions were favorable during the Nazi regime. After all, everybody was doing fine."

"Only this ill-starred war brought disgrace to the Nazi party. The working population was much better off during the Nazi era than they are today. Much more was done to promote their welfare at that time."

"During those years the general population was doing all right. Only the persecution of the Jews and several other things were wrong."

"I worked as a mason at that time, and I was better off as taxes weren't so heavy."

"Because the National Socialists looked after the workers and the middle classes better."

We would benefit from the good sides also today:

6

"We can use the positive features to improve things, while we will turn our backs firmly on the negative sides."

"The good sides of National Socialism would benefit us all."

"There was a lot about National Socialism that was positive although nowadays people flatly deny it."

"Because the positive ideas have turned out well."

The social welfare program was better then:

4

"A comparatively extensive social program was carried out at that time. More should be done for the younger generation, for instance. Large families aren't welcome today, they have a hard time finding a suitable home, that's one of the problems they face."

"They bettered the lot of the workers, for instance, by setting up the 'Strength through Joy' organization, and by launching a great many other social welfare projects."

"If such a party would be established, the aged would be better looked after."

"Social services were more satisfactory at that time."

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West Germany

Order and discipline would be guaranteed:

2%

"At that time conditions were more orderly. People respected each other. There weren't so many loafers living at the expense of those who work as there are today."

"They should reintroduce labor service. Then the young would learn some discipline once more."

"Some things would improve, I'm sure. Above all, the younger generation would be taken off the streets. Today the juvenile delinquency rate is high."

One strong party would serve to consolidate the state:

2

"The Germans need to be ruled by a strong hand, otherwise they'll fritter away their energies."

"Because then one knows where one stands. If there is only one party, there won't be so many conflicting views."

"If there is only one party, there will be no quarrelling, but if there are several, each of them will try to become stronger than the rest."

Unemployment would be eliminated:

1

"At that time things were different. There was no unemployment."

"During the Nazi regime an unemployment problem simply didn't exist."

"Then no worker would be jobless anymore."

Prices would be stabilized:

1

"All this trouble with rising prices would stop. During the Nazi regime prices remained stable."

"While the Nazi Reich lasted there was at least no rise in prices."

"Rules would be laid down to which everybody would have to conform. In the economic sector, I mean, there would be a price control."

Other answers:

2

"Democracy just isn't congenial to us. In the past we had a dictatorship and it was called that. Today our form of government is called a democracy, while in the final analysis the Chancellor rules the country like a dictator."

"I would welcome every political party which had good sides only."

"The construction of super-highways, for instance, was undoubtedly a good thing. It's a greater achievement than what's done in the way of road construction today."

No opinion/ No answer:

1

267a

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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APPROVAL OF IDEA OF SINGLE PARTY FOR ALL DOWN TO ONE QUARTER,
DISAPPROVAL UP TO ALMOST HALF.....

The last time the question of having a single strong party to represent all classes of the population was put before the West Germans, there were more people who approved the idea than disapproved. Since then there has been a considerable shift in opinion. Only one quarter (25%) now approve of the idea, while almost one out of two (47%) disapproves. Thus the results on this question are even more heartening than that cited above from the democratic point of view.

"Here are some views that are often expressed by people.
Would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of
the following view?" (CARD)

We should again have a single strong
national party which really represents
the interests of all classes of our
people.

West Germany		
	Dec. 1952	March 1956
	(1196)	(1816)
Approve	44%	25%
Disapprove	37	47
Undecided	19	28
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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MAJORITY TURNS DOWN "A NATIONAL LEADER WHO RULES GERMANY WITH A STRONG HAND FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL"....

The two questions taken up so far were asked some time ago, and are, therefore, of particular interest in that comparisons with past results are possible. Their purpose, of course, was to furnish indications of the current standing of Nazism, or susceptibility to some of the basic philosophy.

As a further step in this same direction, the following question was used to see if there would be more or less acceptance of a national leader (Führerprinzip) as compared with acceptance of a single national party (the previous question), and acceptance of a new National Socialist party (the first question cited in this section). There was even more rejection of the national leader (55% disapproved) than there was of the single strong national party (47% disapproved.) Acceptance was also less than for the other (that is, only 16% approved of having a national leader while 25% approved of having a single strong national party).

While those interested in the emergence of a democratic Germany may feel heartened by this majority rejection of a new Fuehrer for Germany, they should take careful note of the fact that 45% did not disapprove of this proposition (16% approved and 29% said that they were undecided).

"Do you approve or disapprove of this view?" (CARD)

West Germany

We should again have, as before, a national leader who rules Germany with a strong hand for the welfare of all.

Approve	16%
Disapprove	55
Undecided	29
	<hr/> 100%

II. Examining the Present

MORE THAN A THIRD FEEL THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE WISHES OF THE POPULATION TOO LITTLE....

Only three out of ten (31%) believe that the present government sufficiently considers the wishes of the general population in conducting its business. The largest percentage, over a third of the general population (37%), thought that it did not consider their wishes enough; while hardly anyone (2%) thought that the government considered popular desires "too much".

"Do you believe that our present government considers the wishes of the general population too much, too little, or in the right amount in its actions?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (1816)
Too much	2%
Too little	37
In the right amount	31
Partly/partly	*
No opinion	30
	<u>100%</u>

SOCIAL WELFARE PROBLEMS LEADING CAUSE FOR DISSATISFACTION....

That group which believed that the government considered the wishes of the general population "too little" were asked to explain what they had in mind. From their answers (given below) it can be seen that their main reason was the government's failure, in their opinion, to solve the social welfare problems such as pensions for old age and war disabilities.

"Do you believe that our present government considers the wishes of the general population too much, too little, or in the right amount in its actions?"

IF "Too little":

"Why do you think so?"

West Germany

The social welfare problems have not been solved satisfactorily:

11%

"The social welfare sector is neglected."

"Because Finance Minister Schaeffer is so stingy, he hasn't done anything for the prisoners of war who returned only recently."

"The aged and the war victims cannot make ends meet on the pensions they get. Nobody could live on such a pittance."

"We lost our belongings twice after air raids, but so far we haven't been recompensed for our losses."

"The government's performance in the field of social welfare leaves much to be desired."

The government acts in a high-handed manner:

6

"It's always the same. They keep telling us that we have a say in matters, while actually they do just what they please."

"Adenauer gradually becomes too dictatorial."

"As things are at present, the government officials aren't guided by public opinion, but act according to their own discretion."

"The Bundestag, which is the elected representative of the people, after all, is consulted too rarely."

"They talk a lot and blithely promise whatever people may ask, but they don't stick to it."

The government does not do enough to keep living costs down:

6

"Public opinion isn't sufficiently considered in the shaping of price policy."

"Food prices should remain stable. The government should attend to that."

"If they'd comply with the wishes of the people, they'd combat the trend towards rising prices."

"The government doesn't do anything about the rising prices."

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West Germany

The remilitarization laws were passed against the wishes of the majority of the people:

4%

"Because conscription has been reintroduced, although most people are opposed to it."

"Just take universal military service, the larger part of the nation would have opposed it, if they had been asked."

"Because they go right ahead with their plans to set up an army, although the majority of the people frowns on this development."

"By and large, people are against compulsory military services."

Because the government demands excessive taxes:

3

"We small people have an awfully hard time because of those exorbitant taxes."

"Nobody tries to better our lot. We only have to pay taxes, that's all."

"Taxes are much too heavy, though the coffers of the government are full."

Too little is done for the workers:

3

"As a member of the working classes, I feel the government cares little how we fare."

"Capitalism reigns in our country. The government takes little interest in the lot of the working classes."

"Nothing is done for the advancement of the workers."

Too little is done for the middle classes:

2

"They do not do enough to promote the interest of the middle classes."

"The middle classes get too little attention."

Too little is done for the farmers:

1

"They neglect helping the farmers."

"Because agricultural affairs are being neglected."

"While prices for farm products are fixed, prices for the consumer goods which the farmers need fluctuate according to production costs."

Not enough is done to achieve reunification:

1

"The government does too little to reunite the East Zone with our country."

"The public is in favor of pressing the reunification issue."

(Cont'd on next page)

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West Germany

Excessive funds are given to the refugees:

*

"It seems to me that only the refugees get financial support, they can buy everything they desire."

"Although money is scarce everywhere, the refugees get preferential treatment, and the old residents have to take the backseat."

Other answers:

6

"The public as a whole is not satisfied with the way governmental affairs are conducted."

"Foreign policy is oriented too strongly toward the West."

"Church and state are one. I do not like this."

"There are too many political parties with conflicting views."

No opinion/No answer:

1

44%[@]

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

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GERMANS REJECT A NATIONAL LEADER WHO RULES WITH A STRONG HAND....

When asked to choose between three alternatives what Germany needs most in its present political situation, only one person in twenty (6%) selected the alternative "A national leader who rules with a strong hand." Far more appealing was the second possibility which called for a smart man able to negotiate compromises between the government and the Bundestag (40%). A surprisingly large proportion, over one quarter of the population (26%), would prefer a strong Bundestag as the responsible representative of the people.

"What do you believe Germany needs most in its present political situation?" (CARD)

	<u>West Germany</u>
A national leader who rules with a strong hand	6%
A smart man with the ability to effect compromises who can negotiate in the parliament between the government and the Bundestag for the welfare of the people	40
A Bundestag equipped with great authority which as the responsible representative of the people determines the policies of the government and critically judges governmental actions	26
No opinion	28
	<u>100%</u>

MAJORITY WOULD SIDE WITH THE BUNDESTAG OVER THE CHANCELLOR SHOULD THE TWO CONFLICT....

On the assumption that support for the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, rather than for the Chancellor, as the head of the government, reflects a greater leaning towards democratic values, the responses to this question are encouraging. A majority (52%) said that in the event of a difference of opinion between the two on an important political question the Bundestag's opinion should be decisive. Hardly more than one out of ten (12%) would support the Chancellor. Such results are noteworthy in view of the high regard with which the great majority of the West Germans held Chancellor Adenauer.

"Suppose there were a difference of opinion between the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, and the Chancellor, as head of the government, on important political questions, whose opinion should then be decisive - that of the Bundestag or that of the Chancellor?"

	<u>West Germany</u>
That of the Bundestag	52%
That of the Chancellor	12
Partly/partly	1
No opinion	35
	<u>100%</u>

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THOSE SUPPORTING THE BUNDESTAG EMPHASIZE ITS DEMOCRATIC ROLE....

The leading reasons given by those who feel that the opinion of the Bundestag should prevail over that of the Chancellor in the advent of a conflict are:

"The Bundestag represents the people" - - - -	17%
"Wiser decisions will be reached if a number of persons are consulted" - - - -	14%
"In a democracy paramount power must not reside with an individual" - - - -	11%
"Majority decisions should be the rule" - - - -	8%

All of these reasons are actually variations on the theme that the Bundestag, composed of elected representatives of the people, is a more democratic organ than the single figure of the Chancellor.

"Suppose there were a difference of opinion between the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, and the Chancellor, as head of the government, on important political questions, whose opinion should then be decisive - that of the Bundestag or that of the Chancellor?"

IF "That of the Bundestag":
"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany

Because the Bundestag represents the people and thus is responsible for making final decisions:

17%

"We elected the Bundestag delegates so that they will attend to our interests, after all."

"It's the task of the Bundestag to express the opinion of the people."

"It's the voice of the people, so to speak."

"The parliament is the representative of the people, while the Chancellor was entrusted with his mission only by the Bundestag."

"We've elected the Bundestag delegates, but we didn't give our vote to the Chancellor personally."

Wiser decisions will be reached if a number of persons are consulted:

14

"An individual may err, but if a great many people are agreed on a matter, the chances of choosing the right course are better."

"In the Bundestag many people voice their opinions, and therefore, a mistake won't be made so easily as if an individual makes a momentous decision all alone."

"One man may err, while many persons will not make a mistake so easily."

"A greater number of people means a pooling of brains, and therefore the Bundestag will show greater wisdom than the Chancellor alone."

"It's likely that a number of responsible persons will exercise greater prudence than one man will do, and thus there is a better guarantee that the will of the people will be executed."

(Cont'd on next page)

Because in a democracy paramount power must not rest with an individual:

11%

- "In a democracy, the people are to decide. If they are not heard, we'll soon have another dictatorship."
- "We adopted a democratic system of government, and, therefore, the people should have a voice on important decisions."
- "Because one person must not be allowed to make major decisions all alone, otherwise another Fuehrer will emerge before long."
- "If the Chancellor had the whole responsibility, this might easily lead to his employing dictatorial measures."

Because majority decision should be the rule:

8

- "The will of the majority must be carried out."
- "The Chancellor should bow to the majority."
- "The Bundestag has more voices."
- "A resolution of the majority is needed when an important matter is at stake."

Because the Chancellor is incapable of deciding important issues judiciously:

1

- "I do not have any confidence in the Chancellor."
- "The Chancellor won't consider our welfare, that's why."

Other answers:

2

- "The political parties settle important issues among themselves anyway."
- "Because in that way quarrelling will be avoided."

No opinion/No answer:

1

54%[@]

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THOSE SUPPORTING THE CHANCELLOR EMPHASIZE HIS OUTSTANDING ABILITY....

Half of those who would support the Chancellor as against the Bundestag were there a serious difference of opinion between them, support their stand with reasons that the Chancellor has shown himself to be an exceptional statesman.

"Suppose there were a difference of opinion between the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, and the Chancellor, as head of the government, on important political questions, whose opinion should then be decisive - that of the Bundestag or that of the Chancellor?"

IF "That of the Chancellor":
"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany

Because Chancellor Adenauer has proved to be a capable statesman:

6%

"The Chancellor has steered us most capably out of the chaos our country was in back in 1945-49."
"Up to the present, all decisions the Chancellor has made have turned out to be to the advantage of the people."
"I consider him to be a man who is strong and clever enough to choose the right course for his country all alone."
"Because my confidence in him is unshakable."

The Chancellor is responsible for making political decisions:

3

"As the head of state, his opinion should prevail."
"Because the final decision in a matter must rest with the Chancellor."
"Because he is responsible for conducting governmental affairs."

Discretionary power must rest with one person:

2

"It's better if one person takes the lead."
"Too many opinions are expressed in the Bundestag."
"Because 500 delegates form too large a body to make decisions."

Other answers:

1

"Because if the Bundestag were to decide, a compromise would be the result in most cases, and that would be no good to anybody."
"Because he belongs to the same denomination we do."

No opinion/No answer:

1

13%^a

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY SAYS BUNDESTAG DELEGATE SHOULD FEEL MORE RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS VOTERS THAN TO HIS PARTY....

In the opinion of the majority (56%) a Bundestag delegate should feel more responsible to his voters than to his party, while hardly anyone (2%) thinks he should feel more responsible to his party.

"To whom should the Bundestag delegate feel more responsible - to his party because it put him up as a candidate, or to his voters because they trusted him as their representative?"

	<u>West Germany</u>
To his party	2%
To his voters	56
To both equally	20
No opinion	22
	<u>100%</u>

REASONS WHY A DELEGATE SHOULD FEEL MORE RESPONSIBLE TO HIS VOTERS....

The great majority of the reasons given why a Bundestag delegate should feel more responsible to his voters than to his party center around the idea that they (the voters) were after all the people who elected him, he owes his job to them, and hence the delegates must attend to the interests of the voters. While such reasoning might well be expected in the United States where the electorate votes by name, it is most interesting to find in West Germany where about 60% of the Bundestag delegates find their way there as the result of being on a party list for which the electorate voted.

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"To whom should the Bundestag delegate feel more responsible - to his party because it put him up as a candidate, or to his voters because they trusted him as their representative?"

IF "To his voters":
"Why do you think so?"

West Germany

The voters put their trust in their delegate and expect him to attend to their interests:

24%

"What's the use of electing a candidate if he isn't willing to represent our views, I ask you."

"Because we elected him trusting he would act for us in whatever matter might come up."

"We elect a delegate expecting that he will voice our opinions."

"That's why a delegate is sent to parliament. I mean, it's his job to represent the voters."

"The voters supported the delegate and they trusted him, so now, he in his turn, must represent the voters."

"The delegate enjoys the confidence of the voters, he must not betray it."

"It's his duty to act for the voters as they placed their confidence in him."

The delegate owes his position to the voters:

19

"If the voters hadn't decided in his favor, he would never have become a delegate in the first place."

"We made him a member of parliament, after all, and therefore, he should comply with our wishes."

"He is under an obligation to them. They've given him their mandate."

"The delegates represent the people, and therefore, they are responsible to them."

"He must answer for his acts to the voters. He is under an obligation to them."

It is the primary duty of the delegates to promote the welfare of the people at large:

3

"A delegate is supposed to act for the benefit of the voters, and not to aid his party."

"It's not his job to promote political-party interests, but to do all he can for his voters."

"It's the foremost duty of a delegate to attend to the interests of the voters."

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West Germany

The majority of the voters do not belong to a political party:

2 1/2

"It wouldn't be right if he'd feel more responsible to a political party, for the non-political voters outnumber the party members."

"The voters who back no particular party make up the majority of the people."

"The delegate was elected by the mass of voters who do not have political affiliations."

The interests of political parties and of the people do not always coincide:

2

"It might be that the views of politicians serve their party well, but might not be to the benefit of the people."

"Party interests and the interests of the people aren't always identical."

"The tenets of a party represent the views of a faction, while the voters represent public opinion."

Voters cast their vote for a personality and not for a party:

2

"The voters have given their vote to him and not to the party."

"People vest their confidence in a delegate, not in a political party."

"Attention should be centered on the individual delegate, and not on a party."

Because only thus sufficient freedom of action is guaranteed to the delegate:

1

"If he felt responsible to the party only, he'd be just a tool in the hands of the party bosses."

"The delegate must not be pledged to adhering closely to the party line."

Other answers:

5

"Because otherwise we would let the party managers become overpowerful."

"The wishes of the people count, and not what those party people want."

"I have no sympathy for any of the political parties. The voters are good enough to go to the polls, but afterwards their criticisms aren't welcome."

No opinion/No answer:

1

59/5

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REASONS WHY A DELEGATE SHOULD FEEL MORE RESPONSIBLE TO HIS PARTY....

Since there were so few people (2%) who indicated that a delegate should be more responsible to his party the reasons advanced by these individuals can only be listed but not classified.

"To whom should the Bundestag delegate feel more responsible - to his party because it put him up as a candidate, or to his voters because they trusted him as their representative?"

IF "To his party":
"Why do you think so?"

"Because the party got him his seat in parliament."

"The party helped him to become a member of parliament. He mustn't forget that."

"Because the party included his name on the slate, but he mustn't forget his voters, either."

"If the party hadn't put him on the ticket, he couldn't have been elected."

"The individual voter casts his vote for a party and not for a candidate. That's why the delegate mustn't bolt."

"He represents the whole party and not the individual voter."

"We only know the party platform and the individual delegate has to stick to it more or less."

"The voters elect the delegate as the exponent of a particular party program."

"He belongs to a political party and is pledged to furthering its cause."

"Every party must try to realize its ideas."

"He pledged his support to his party and now he must stand up for it."

"A party is a unity and there must be one voice to speak with authority."

"Because he is under obligation to his party."

"It's his duty to promote the interests of his party. The common cause takes precedence over the interests of the individual."

"It's because he holds membership in a particular party, for the voters cast their vote for a delegate who stands for a political party."

"The voters do not know what they want. If I vote for a delegate who represents a political party, it's obvious that he will act in accordance with party directives."

Total West Germany - - - 2%

A STRONG OPPOSITION IS CONSIDERED NECESSARY BY A MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS....

Another hopeful sign on the horizon of the German political scene is the finding that a majority (55%) consider a strong opposition "somewhat" or "very" necessary to their form of government, whereas less than a tenth (7%) say that it is "not so necessary" or "not at all necessary".

True, as was pointed out in another connection, the picture is not entirely a favorable one since it can be argued that a sizeable minority (45%) do not see the necessity of having a strong opposition in their (presumably) democratic state. The 45% of course comprises the 7% who were negative and the 38% who had no opinion on this question.

"How necessary do you consider a strong opposition in our form of government - that is, political parties which do not form part of the government?"

<u>West Germany</u>	
Very necessary	33%
Somewhat necessary	22) 55%
Not so necessary	4) 7
Not at all necessary	3
No opinion	38
	<u>100%</u>

VALUE IN STRONG OPPOSITION SEEN IN PREVENTION OF DICTATORSHIP, AND AS AID IN SHAPING CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES.....

The two leading reasons advanced by those who feel that a strong opposition is necessary for the German form of government emphasized its value as a deterrent for dictatorship (20%) and its usefulness in shaping constructive policies (16%).

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"How necessary do you consider a strong opposition in our form of government - that is, political parties which do not form part of the government.?"

IF "Very necessary" or "Somewhat necessary":
"Why do you consider a strong opposition to be (very) (somewhat) necessary?"

West Germany

Because without an opposition, the government might become a dictatorship:

20%

"A state in which no opposition exists, is a totalitarian regime to all intents and purposes, for then the people at the top can do what they please with nobody to stop them."

"It's the opposition's task to criticize the government party, so that they cannot erect a dictatorship."

"If there were only one party, the guys in charge would soon become overbearing."

"The opposition prevents the ruling party from becoming too powerful."

"We do not want a system like that in the East where the government does just what it pleases."

"If there were no opposition, the government would be free to enforce any policy, even if the people should be opposed to it."

Because an opposition aids in shaping constructive policies:

16

"From the interplay of government party and opposition the right policy emerges."

"By discussing the pros and cons of a matter, the best possible result will be achieved."

"One can learn from discussions, for one must also consider the opinion of the other party."

"Partiality on the part of the government should be avoided, and such a trend may easily develop if there is no opposition."

"A strong opposition acts as a counterbalance. If it makes constructive proposals, it will help to promote the welfare of the people."

(Cont'd on next page)

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West Germany

Because the opposition must scrutinize the actions of the government and check abuses:

11%

"The opposition plays the role of the police within the state, so to speak."

"It's the job of the opposition to expose abuses."

"There simply must be an opposition, for, as everybody knows, it's the opposition which points out mistakes and forces the government to consider its actions carefully."

"It's the task of the opposition to point to mistakes which inevitably will be made and to see to it that something is done about it."

"Opposition means criticism, and criticism is always a good thing. The opposition warns and advises."

Because an opposition must exist in a democracy:

4

"One cannot govern a country democratically without an opposition."

"An opposition is indispensable in a democracy. If there isn't any such body, it's no true democracy, to be sure."

"I consider the interplay between government party and opposition to be one of the pillars of a true democracy, just the way things are in England."

Because an opposition represents certain segments of the people:

2

"The opposition also represents the will of a segment of the people, and their voice must not be silenced."

"The opinion of the people is more likely to be heard as the opposition acts as a mouthpiece for them."

Other answers:

2

No opinion/No answer:

2

57%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY A STRONG OPPOSITION IS NOT CONSIDERED NECESSARY....

"How necessary do you consider a strong opposition in our form of government - that is political parties which do not form part of the government?"

IF "Not so necessary", or "Not at all necessary":
"Why do you consider a strong opposition not so/not at all necessary?"

West Germany

Because the opposition only causes unrest and confusion:

3%

"These political parties are not willing to bear part of the responsibilities. They are simply against everything out of mere opposition."

"The Bundestag sessions are loud enough without a noisy opposition. It sometimes offers even a disgraceful spectacle."

"A strong opposition prevents the Bundestag from passing resolutions when they are urgently needed."

Because we can do without an opposition:

2

"With a strong personality on top, we don't need any kind of opposition in our government."

"What we need is one strong party."

"An opposition pigeonholes things that should be settled without delay."

Because the opposition as minority is unable to prevail

1

"All these parties that do not form part of the government are not in a position to advocate our interests."

"The majority will always have the last word anyway."

Other reasons:

1

"Too strong an opposition might lead to governmental crises."

"It should contribute toward the welfare of the people instead of advocating its own party interests."

No opinion/No answer:

*

7%^a

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

GOVERNMENT HELD IN CRITICAL ESTEEM....

While the West German government is thought to have been guilty of occasional abuses (32% agreed with that statement), there is evidently not enough of a basis to give rise to fears that it is heading for a dictatorship (6% thought so). On the other hand, 30% of the West German population apparently feels that the government is truly concerned about the welfare of the people and in no danger of abusing its powers.

"Some people are talking about our government. (CARD)
Which view comes closest to your opinion?"

West Germany

Mr. Mueller:

The more independent the government has become during the past few years, the more authoritarian and autocratic its measures have become - we are heading straight for a dictatorship once more, even if of a different kind.

6%

Mr. Schulze:

Though I do not believe we'll have another dictatorship, some government measures and regulations are disquieting and indicate that the government occasionally abuses its powers.

32

Mr. Schmidt:

Our young democracy is secure and sound. Our government is concerned about the welfare of the people and I do not believe that some day it will try to abuse its powers.

30

No opinion

32

100%

CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY OVER PURSUING SELFISH FOREIGN POLICY IN DISREGARD OF ALLIES.....

When asked whether they approved or disapproved of a statement which advocated pursuit of a foreign policy which would only be for Germany's advantage on the ground that the Allies would also leave Germany in the lurch in an emergency, almost equal proportions of the West German population approved (36%), disapproved (30%), or were undecided (34%).

"Do you approve or disapprove of this view?" (CARD)

In our foreign policy we should act only for our own advantage since our Allies would also leave us in the lurch in an emergency

West Germany

Approve	36%
Disapprove	30
Undecided	34
	<u>100%</u>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
III. Possible Dangers

BIGGEST THREAT TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FREEDOM SEEN COMING FROM THE MILITARY....

While only small groups of the population saw any threat to the political and social freedom of the individual in any of the three possibilities presented, it is perhaps significant that the percentage naming the military (22%) was the highest. All political parties together were pointed out by 17%. It is significant that among the political parties the Communist Party (KPD) was named more often than all the rest combined - 9%, as against 8% for all the rest.

"Do you see any threat to the political and social freedom of the individual in the following institutions?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
The unions	9%	56%	35%....100%
The military	22	43	35
Specific political parties	17	42	41
(Which?): KPD -	9%		
CDU -	4		
SPD -	1		
FDP -	1		
"Rightest"	1		
No opinion	1		

TWO OUT OF FIVE NAME DEVELOPMENTS WHICH DISTURB THEM....
EMPHASIS IS ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.....

The majority of the people in West Germany (59%) are apparently satisfied with the way things are going since they either had "no criticism" (33%) or had "no opinion or no answer" (26%) when asked if there were any political developments or governmental activities which disturbed them.

The two out of five (41%) who answered "Yes" to this question were mainly concerned with domestic issues. Three out of four comments (34% of the total population) mentioned some domestic affair, while only one out of four (12%) named a foreign affairs matter.

"Is there anything about the political development in our country or about our government that disturbs you or that you consider disquieting?"

<u>West Germany</u>			
Yes	41%	What?	(Domestic 34% (Foreign 12 (Other 1
No	59		
	<u>100%</u>		<u>47%[@]</u>

SUMMARY TABLE

	<u>West Germany</u>
<u>Domestic Affairs</u>	<u>34%</u>
Rearmament	9%
Wage and price policies	5
Social Welfare	5
Smugness of the government	3
Economic policies	3
Taxation	2
Discord in the Federal Assembly	2
Influence of the Church	1
Old age of Adenauer	1
Other domestic affairs	3
<u>Foreign Affairs</u>	<u>12</u>
Reunification	3
War preparation	3
Influence of the West	3
Shortsightedness towards Communism	1
Sea problem	1
Other foreign affairs	1
<u>Other Reasons</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>No criticisms</u>	<u>33</u>
<u>No opinion, no answer</u>	<u>26</u>
	<u>106%[@]</u>

[@] Some respondents gave more than one answer

"Is there anything about the political development in our country or about our government that disturbs you or that you consider disquieting?"

West Germany

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

(34%)

Rearmament:

9%

"Yes! The new army. It is built up against the will of the people."

"The people should have been asked on the issue of a new army."

"They go all out for a new army. That will lead to no good. They should concern themselves with the country itself first."

"Rearmament costs too much money."

Wage and price policies:

5

"I don't like the fact that the cost of living is continually rising."

"The workers are continually getting higher wages and prices are going up. This hurts the other people."

"Prices are rising all the time, the coal price, for example, is completely irresponsible."

Social welfare:

5

"Social reforms were not carried out long ago, but for very transparent reasons only at a date shortly before the election of the new Federal parliament."

"The red tape around old-age pensions is scandalous. My own application has been under consideration for a year now. What am I supposed to live on in the meantime?"

"Nothing is done for the poorer ~~classes~~ of the population."

"There is a lot of talking about the workingman but very little is done for his social welfare."

The smugness of the government (and the Christian Democrats):

3

"The government is slowly developing into a dictatorship."

"Adenauer is grabbing too much power."

"The fact that the large masses are always ignored. The government doesn't care a bit what we want."

"The CDU wants to govern all by itself."

Economic policies:

3

"One thing that is not healthy about our economic development is the huge gap between the rich and the poor."

"I am worried about a possible inflation."

"Our economic policies have a dubious value."

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West Germany

Taxation:

2%

"Give us a few more taxes and soon 50% of our work will be for the state."

"The government doesn't do enough for the middle classes. The tax burden is much too heavy for the small business man."

"The tax policies are onesidedly geared to the demands of the state."

The discord in the Federal Assembly (and in party politics):

2

"Yes, these vicious attacks in the Federal parliament could easily be avoided if there were a little understanding for the one, and some respect for the other person."

"The parties can never agree on the important issues."

"The split among the Free Democrats."

The influence of the church:

1

"I am of the opinion that the church is meddling too much in politics."

"Religion has too much influence on the government."

The old age of Adenauer:

1

"Adenauer is slowly getting too old. He should be replaced by younger people."

"Why doesn't Adenauer appoint a deputy Chancellor?"

Other domestic affairs:

3

"The development of our young people is really fearful. No ideals, no sins."

"There is too much spending. The government apparatus is growing out of all proportion and is far too expensive."

"Capital punishment should be introduced again."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(12%)

Reunification:

3

"The government isn't doing everything possible to effect the reunification of Germany."

"A hesitating policy of reunification."

"They should suddenly come out with a proposal regarding reunification. Action! They are much too lazy and lame."

(Cont'd on next page)

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West Germany

The war preparations:

3%

"We are once again slowly but surely arming for a war and it is wrong to let the Americans pull up with their atomic guns."

"We are getting soldiers again. Pretty soon we'll have another war, too, and we are all fed up with wars."

"The fact that they are so quickly building up an army again. You can't help feeling that things will start popping pretty soon."

The strong influence of the Western powers and our dependence on them:

3

"Our so-called sovereignty exists on paper only. We are too strongly tied up with America."

"Our governmental bodies are to a certain extent just as restricted in their actions as people are in the East. Maybe the form is a little milder."

"They are making themselves too slavishly dependant on America."

Their shortsightedness towards the danger of Communism:

1

"I think that they are keeping their eyes shut a little too much about the danger lurking in the East, Communism."

"They have allowed the Russians to enter like this so that they can put their noses into all our pots."

"Communism might easily spread through the establishing of embassies. The Russians are in Bonn and we have an ambassador in Moscow."

The Saar problem:

1

"I have the uneasy feeling that they are giving in to France too much in the Saar question."

"Germany should be more concerned with the Saar problem."

Other foreign affairs:

1

"Our foreign policies are in need of a reappraisal."

"Too many one-sided foreign policies. Too little interest in what would benefit the large masses."

Other reasons:

1

No criticism:

33

No opinion/No answer:

26

106%^a

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY TWO OUT OF TEN CONSIDER A LEADING PUBLIC FIGURE TOO AUTOCRATIC (ADENAUER NAMED MOST OFTEN).....

The great majority of the West German populace does not consider any of its public figures to be too autocratic or possessing authoritarian tendencies as only two-tenths (22%) named one or more individuals whom they thought fell in this category. The fact that Adenauer was named by half of those who considered any individual autocratic might well be expected since he is the most known personality in the Federal Republic.

"And can you name any leading figures in public life who, in your opinion, are too autocratic or have some authoritarian tendencies?"

<u>West Germany</u>	
Yes	22%
No	49
No opinion	29
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes.":
"Who?"

<u>West Germany</u>	
Dr. Adenauer, the Chancellor	14%
Mr. Schaeffer, the Finance Minister	3
Dr. Dehler, the leader of the FDP	3
Mr. Blank, the Minister for Defense	2
Mr. Ollenhauer, the leader of the SPD	2
Dr. Hundhammer, the speaker of the Bavarian Landtag	*
Dr. Preusker, the minister for Housing	*
Professor Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs	*
Other leading figures	3
No opinion/No answer	*
	<u>27%[@]</u>

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one percent.

A P P E N D I X

"Would you like to see a party established which only had the good sides of National Socialism, or would you not like to see that happen?"

	Yes, would like to see it happen	No, would not like to see it happen	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total West Germany</u>	23%	44%	33%..100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26	53	21	816
Women	21	37	42	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	43	35	1509
Beyond elementary	29	48	23	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	16	41	43	137
150 to 299 DM	22	37	41	286
300 to 399 DM	22	49	29	373
400 to 499 DM	26	48	26	302
500 DM and more	32	43	25	454
No answer	13	43	44	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>				
Very active	25	60	15	95
Somewhat active	28	47	25	559
Remainder	21	41	38	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	31	46	23	182
Upper middle classes	25	47	28	894
Lower middle classes	20	41	39	645
Lower classes	21	37	42	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	21	35	44	234
25 to 34 years	31	41	28	354
35 to 44 years	28	44	28	352
45 to 59 years	21	49	30	566
60 years and over	15	47	38	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	28	49	23	439
CDU/CSU	21	52	27	469
FDP	30	49	21	96
Other parties	36	46	18	95
No party	25	38	37	358
No opinion/No answer	14	31	55	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	24	58	18	54
Businessmen	24	52	24	143
White-collar workers	30	45	25	209
Skilled laborers	33	45	22	213
Semi-skilled laborers	26	40	34	184
Domestic service	16	41	43	44
Farmers; farmhands	15	49	36	122
Housewives	21	39	40	569
Unemployed	22	48	30	23
Pensioners; retired	19	46	35	224
Students; apprentices	26	39	35	31
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25	42	33	955
Protestants	21	46	33	806
Others	33	43	24	21
No religion	23	51	26	34

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Q Determined by political and organizational participation.

UNCLASSIFIED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, would like to see it happen	No, would not like to see it happen	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	22%	46%	32%..100%	1,444
Expellees; refugees	27	39	34	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	21	42	37	507
2,000 to 12,999	25	45	30	576
20,000 to 99,999	25	41	34	293
100,000 and more	22	48	30	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	27	44	29	193
Lower Saxony	24	31	45	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	24	44	32	515
Hesse	28	46	26	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	14	42	44	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	16	51	33	232
Bavaria	26	48	26	326

UNCLASSIFIED

"Here are some views that are often expressed by people. Would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the following view?

We should again have a single strong national party which really represents the interests of all classes of our people."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	25%	47%	28%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	24	62	14	816
Women	24	38	38	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	25	46	29	1509
Beyond elementary	22	62	16	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	24	37	39	137
150 to 299 DM	25	38	37	286
300 to 399 DM	25	51	24	373
400 to 499 DM	24	57	19	302
500 DM and more	28	55	17	454
No answer	17	44	39	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	25	69	6	95
Somewhat active	29	55	16	559
Remainder	22	44	34	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	25	60	15	182
Upper middle classes	26	51	23	894
Lower middle classes	22	45	33	645
Lower classes	25	33	42	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	26	40	34	234
25 to 34 years	31	46	23	354
35 to 44 years	26	52	22	352
45 to 59 years	21	54	25	566
60 years and over	20	44	36	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	28	57	15	439
CDU/CSU	25	53	22	469
FDP	34	57	9	96
Other parties	34	48	18	95
No party	22	46	32	358
No opinion/No answer	16	33	51	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	26	65	9	54
Businessmen	20	62	18	143
White-collar workers	20	61	19	209
Skilled laborers	30	57	13	213
Semi-skilled laborers	28	46	26	184
Domestic service	18	50	32	44
Farmers; farmhands	18	50	32	122
Housewives	26	39	35	569
Unemployed	39	39	22	23
Pensioners; retired	22	43	35	224
Students; apprentices	29	52	19	31

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	26%	48%	26%...100%	955
Protestants	23	48	29	806
Others	29	43	28	21
No religion	18	70	12	34
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	24	50	26	1444
Expellees; refugees	27	44	29	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	23	45	32	507
2,000 to 19,999	26	48	26	576
20,000 to 99,999	24	48	28	293
100,000 and more	24	54	22	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	30	45	25	193
Lower Saxony	19	45	36	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	23	51	26	515
Hesse	28	50	22	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	25	42	33	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	15	57	28	232
Bavaria	31	46	23	326

"Do you approve or disapprove of this view?

We should again have, as before, a national leader who rules Germany with a strong hand for the welfare of all."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	16%	55%	29%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	16	68	16	816
Women	16	45	39	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	54	30	1509
Beyond elementary	15	67	18	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	15	42	43	137
150 to 299 DM	20	44	36	286
300 to 399 DM	17	59	24	373
400 to 499 DM	16	62	22	302
500 DM and more	15	66	19	454
No answer	10	47	43	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	14	77	9	95
Somewhat active	18	62	20	559
Remainder	15	51	34	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	18	67	15	182
Upper middle classes	17	59	24	894
Lower middle classes	14	52	34	645
Lower classes	17	34	49	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	11	54	35	234
25 to 34 years	21	56	23	354
35 to 44 years	17	57	26	352
45 to 59 years	14	58	28	566
60 years and over	15	51	34	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	15	66	19	439
CDU/CSU	17	63	20	469
FDP	23	62	15	96
Other parties	28	53	19	95
No party	13	52	35	358
No opinion/No answer	13	36	51	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	11	78	11	54
Businessmen	13	64	23	143
White-collar workers	17	61	22	209
Skilled laborers	18	67	15	213
Semi-skilled laborers	16	58	26	184
Domestic service	7	66	27	44
Farmers; farmhands	14	51	35	122
Housewives	17	47	36	569
Unemployed	17	52	31	23
Pensioners; retired	16	48	36	224
Students; apprentices	10	74	16	31

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	17%	56%	27%...100%	955
Protestants	15	54	31	806
Others	14	62	24	21
No religion	6	82	12	34
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	14	58	28	1444
Expellees; refugees	21	49	30	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	14	51	35	507
2,000 to 19,999	17	56	27	576
20,000 to 99,999	15	57	28	293
100,000 and more	17	60	23	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	18	58	24	193
Lower Saxony	15	49	36	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	15	57	28	515
Hesse	18	56	26	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	7	57	36	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	60	28	232
Bavaria	21	53	26	326

"Do you believe that our present government considers the wishes of the general population too much, too little, or in the right amount in its actions?"

	Too much	Too little	In the right amount	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total West Germany</u>	2%	37%	31%	*	30%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	2	49	33	*	16	816
Women	*	28	30	*	42	1000
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	1	37	30	*	32	1509
Beyond elementary school	1	40	36	*	23	307
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	-	37	24	-	39	137
150 to 299 DM	1	32	33	*	34	286
300 to 399 DM	1	37	33	1	28	373
400 to 499 DM	1	43	31	*	25	302
500 DM and more	1	42	34	*	23	454
No answer	*	30	27	*	43	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>						
Very active	2	55	32	-	11	95
Somewhat active	1	46	32	1	20	559
Remainder	1	32	30	*	31	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	1	42	33	-	24	182
Upper middle classes	1	38	35	*	26	894
Lower middle classes	1	37	27	*	35	645
Lower classes	1	34	24	-	41	95
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	1	33	28	*	38	234
25 to 34 years	1	38	33	1	27	354
35 to 44 years	1	44	30	*	25	352
45 to 59 years	1	37	32	*	30	566
60 years and over	1	33	32	-	34	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	*	60	20	*	20	439
CDU/CSU	1	24	50	1	24	469
FDP	1	55	31	-	13	96
Other parties	1	39	39	1	20	95
No party	1	36	26	-	37	358
No opinion/No answer	1	25	24	*	50	359
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	2	35	41	-	22	54
Businessmen	1	47	29	1	22	143
White-collar workers	1	40	33	1	25	209
Skilled laborers	2	52	31	*	15	213
Semi-skilled laborers	1	40	25	-	34	184
Domestic service	-	25	41	-	34	44
Farmers; farmhands	1	30	39	-	30	122
Housewives	*	32	30	*	38	569
Unemployed	-	61	22	4	13	23
Pensioners; retired	1	33	31	-	35	224
Students; apprentices	-	32	45	-	23	31
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	1	41	28	*	30	955
Protestants	1	33	35	1	30	806
Others	-	38*	33	-	29	21
No religion	-	65	15	-	20	34

(Cont'd on next page)

® Determined by political and organizational participation.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>In the right amount</u>	<u>Partly/ partly</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	1%	38%	31%	*	30%..100%	1444
Expellees; refugees	1	36	30	1	32	372
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	1	31	34	*	34	507
2,000 to 19,999	1	36	34	*	29	576
20,000 to 99,999	-	40	27	1	32	293
100,000 and more	1	45	28	-	26	440
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	1	40	33	-	26	193
Lower Saxony	*	35	25	*	40	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	1	38	28	*	33	515
Hesse	1	37	34	-	28	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	2	30	30	-	38	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	1	40	34	*	25	232
Bavaria	1	38	36	1	24	326

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"What do you believe Germany needs most in its present political situation?" (CARD)

- A - A national leader who rules with a strong hand
- B - A smart man with the ability to effect compromises who can negotiate in the parliament between the government and the Bundestag for the welfare of the people
- C - A Bundestag equipped with great authority which as the responsible representative of the people determines the policies of the government and critically judges governmental actions
- No opinion

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	6%	40%	26%	28%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8	44	34	14	816
Women	5	35	20	40	1000
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	6	35	27	32	1509
Beyond elementary	7	56	26	11	307
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	9	26	17	48	137
150 to 299 DM	5	37	22	36	286
300 to 399 DM	6	38	29	27	373
400 to 499 DM	7	39	33	21	302
500 DM and more	7	44	30	19	454
No answer	6	38	20	36	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	11	46	37	6	95
Somewhat active	6	45	31	18	559
Remainder	6	35	23	36	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	11	52	25	12	182
Upper middle classes	6	45	26	23	894
Lower middle classes	6	30	28	36	645
Lower classes	8	16	23	53	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	3	35	29	33	234
25 to 34 years	7	45	26	22	354
35 to 44 years	7	44	26	23	352
45 to 59 years	7	37	28	28	566
60 years and over	7	35	20	38	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	38	39	17	439
CDU/CSU	6	48	25	21	469
FDP	12	61	19	8	96
Other parties	11	44	30	15	95
No party	4	32	25	39	358
No opinion/no answer	6	28	17	49	359

(Cont'd on next page)

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	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	9%	43%	39%	9%...100%	54
Businessmen	8	49	27	16	143
White-collar workers	4	53	27	16	209
Skilled laborers	7	42	38	13	213
Semi-skilled laborers	6	35	32	27	184
Domestic service	5	39	20	36	44
Farmers; farmhands	7	36	22	35	122
Housewives	6	34	21	39	569
Unemployed	13	39	31	17	23
Pensioners; retired	7	34	21	38	224
Students; apprentices	3	45	39	13	31
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	7	40	26	27	955
Protestants	6	38	27	29	806
Others	5	52	14	29	21
No religion	3	44	29	24	34
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	6	39	27	28	1444
Expellees; refugees	7	38	25	30	372
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	6	37	23	34	507
2,000 to 19,999	7	39	26	28	576
20,000 to 99,999	5	39	28	28	293
100,000 and more	7	41	29	23	440
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	10	40	29	21	193
Lower Saxony	6	33	21	40	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	6	39	25	30	515
Hesse	5	36	34	25	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	7	34	20	39	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	3	50	21	26	232
Bavaria	8	39	32	21	326

"Suppose there were a difference of opinion between the Bundestag, as the elected representative of the people, and the Chancellor, as head of the government, on important political questions - whose opinion should then be decisive: that of the Bundestag or that of the Chancellor?"

	<u>That of the Bundestag</u>	<u>That of the Chancellor</u>	<u>Partly/ partly</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	52%	12%	1%	35%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	69	11	1	19	816
Women	39	13	1	47	1000
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	50	11	1	38	1509
Beyond elementary	62	16	2	20	307
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	36	12	4	48	137
150 to 299 DM	36	16	*	48	286
300 to 399 DM	55	12	2	31	373
400 to 499 DM	59	11	1	29	302
500 DM and more	65	12	1	22	454
No answer	43	8	2	47	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	80	12	1	7	95
Somewhat active	63	13	2	22	559
Remainder	45	12	1	42	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	58	20	3	19	182
Upper middle classes	57	12	1	30	894
Lower middle classes	45	11	1	43	645
Lower classes	39	8	1	52	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	52	10	1	37	234
25 to 34 years	57	13	1	29	354
35 to 44 years	58	11	2	29	352
45 to 59 years	52	12	1	35	566
60 years and over	40	13	2	45	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	71	6	1	22	439
CDU/CSU	49	23	2	26	469
FDP	72	14	2	12	96
Other parties	59	16	1	24	95
No party	47	8	1	44	358
No opinion/No answer	32	6	2	60	359
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	72	13	2	13	54
Businessmen	59	9	3	29	143
White-collar workers	65	15	1	19	209
Skilled laborers	75	7	1	17	213
Semi-skilled laborers	52	10	1	37	184
Domestic service	32	20	-	48	44
Farmers; farmhands	47	13	2	38	122
Housewives	42	12	1	45	569
Unemployed	57	13	-	30	23
Pensioners; retired	42	13	1	44	224
Students; apprentices	65	16	3	16	31
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	56	12	1	31	955
Protestants	48	12	2	38	806
Others	62	10	-	28	21
No religion	62	9	-	29	34

(Cont'd on next page)

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* Less than one half of one per cent.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>That of the Bundestag</u>	<u>That of the Chancellor</u>	<u>Partly/ partly</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	54%	11%	1%	34%...100%	1444
Expellees; refugees	47	15	1	37	372
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	44	13	1	42	507
2,000 to 19,999	52	12	2	34	576
20,000 to 99,999	61	12	1	26	293
100,000 and more	57	11	1	31	440
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	63	10	-	27	193
Lower Saxony	43	13	1	43	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	51	12	2	35	515
Hesse	50	17	1	32	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	50	6	2	42	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	55	8	3	34	232
Bavaria	54	14	1	31	326

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"To whom should the Bundestag delegate feel more responsible - to his party because it put him up as a candidate, or to his voters because they trusted him as their representative?"

	<u>To his party</u>	<u>to his voters</u>	<u>To both equally</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	2%	56%	20%	22%..100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	2	69	19	10	816
Women	2	45	21	32	1000
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2	54	20	24	1509
Beyond elementary	2	64	22	12	307
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	1	37	31	31	137
150 to 299 DM	2	49	19	30	286
300 to 399 DM	3	58	20	19	373
400 to 499 DM	1	65	19	15	302
500 DM and more	3	65	18	14	454
No answer	1	43	21	35	264
<u>Opinion leadership Scale:</u>					
Very active	1	71	22	6	95
Somewhat active	3	68	17	12	559
Remainder	2	49	21	28	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	1	66	16	17	182
Upper middle classes	2	60	20	18	894
Lower middle classes	2	49	22	27	645
Lower classes	-	46	16	38	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	4	50	19	27	234
25 to 34 years	1	63	19	17	354
35 to 44 years	3	61	18	18	352
45 to 59 years	2	56	21	21	566
60 years and more	*	49	21	30	310
<u>Party preference:</u>					
SPD	2	69	18	11	439
CDU/CSU	2	60	20	18	469
FDP	3	80	13	4	96
Other parties	7	56	22	15	95
No party	1	50	22	27	358
No opinion/No answer	1	34	23	42	359
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	4	65	18	13	54
Businessmen	2	67	17	14	143
White-collar workers	1	69	15	15	209
Skilled laborers	3	75	15	7	213
Semi-skilled laborers	3	56	19	22	184
Domestic service	5	43	27	25	44
Farmers; farmhands	2	44	29	25	122
Housewives	2	46	22	30	569
Unemployed	4	57	22	17	23
Pensioners; retired	-	49	23	28	224
Students; apprentices	10	58	16	16	31
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	2	58	19	21	955
Protestants	2	53	22	23	806
Others	-	76	10	14	21
No religion	6	64	21	9	34

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"How necessary do you consider a strong opposition in our form of government - that is, political parties which do not form part of the government?"

	Very necess- ary	Some- what necess- ary	Not so necess- ary	Not at all necess- ary	No opinion	No. cas
<u>Total West Germany</u>	33%	22%	4%	3%	38%...100%	18
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	49	27	4	3	17	8
Women	21	18	3	3	55	10
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	30	21	3	4	42	15
Beyond elementary	47	27	4	2	20	3
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	21	13	1	4	61	1
150 to 299 DM	21	22	5	5	47	2
300 to 399 DM	29	27	3	3	38	3
400 to 499 DM	39	25	5	2	29	3
500 DM and more	47	20	3	4	26	4
No answer	32	16	3	2	47	2
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>						
Very active	53	33	4	3	7	1
Somewhat active	41	29	5	3	22	5
Remainder	28	17	3	3	49	11
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	46	26	4	2	22	1
Upper middle classes	35	25	4	4	32	8
Lower middle classes	30	17	2	3	48	6
Lower classes	20	14	2	5	59	9
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	30	19	3	4	44	2
25 to 34 years	36	21	6	2	35	3
35 to 44 years	40	21	4	5	30	3
45 to 59 years	35	23	3	3	36	5
60 years and over	23	23	3	3	48	3
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	55	17	3	2	23	4
CDU/CSU	25	30	5	5	35	4
FDP	53	28	3	2	14	9
Other parties	36	24	4	9	27	9
No party	28	18	3	2	49	3
No opinion/No answer	18	17	3	3	59	3
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	61	22	6	2	9	5
Businessmen	43	28	3	3	23	14
White-collar workers	43	26	5	2	24	20
Skilled laborers	52	21	2	5	20	21
Semi-skilled laborers	31	26	5	4	34	18
Domestic service	25	20	2	5	48	4
Farmers; farmhands	28	21	8	5	38	12
Housewives	23	18	4	3	52	5
Unemployed	48	17	4	9	22	2
Pensioners; retired	24	20	1	3	52	22
Students; apprentices	45	26	3	3	23	3
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	34	22	4	3	37	9
Protestants	31	20	3	3	43	8
Others	33	29	-	5	33	2
No religion	58	21	6	-	15	3

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	<u>Very</u> <u>necess-</u> <u>ary</u>	<u>Some-</u> <u>what</u> <u>necess-</u> <u>ary</u>	<u>Not, so</u> <u>necess-</u> <u>ary</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>at all</u> <u>necess-</u> <u>ary</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	34%	22%	3%	3%	38%...100%	1444
Expellees; refugees	30	22	4	4	40	372
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	26	21	5	4	44	507
2,000 to 19,999	34	21	4	4	37	576
20,000 to 99,999	36	27	2	2	33	293
100,000 and more	40	20	3	2	35	440
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,						
Bremen	33	24	6	5	32	193
Lower Saxony	26	26	2	3	43	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	34	19	4	4	39	515
Hesse	22	31	5	2	40	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	47	10	-	2	41	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	40	26	2	*	32	232
Bavaria	35	18	4	5	38	326

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Some people are talking about our government. (Card)
Which view comes closest to your opinion?"

- A - Mr. Mueller: The more independent the government has become during the past few years, the more authoritarian and autocratic its measures have become - we are heading straight for a dictatorship once more, even if of different kind.
- B - Mr. Schulze: Though I do not believe we'll have another dictatorship, some government measures and regulations are disquieting and indicate that the government occasionally abuses its powers.
- C - Mr. Schmidt: Our young democracy is secure and sound. Our government is concerned about the welfare of the people and I do not believe that some day it will try to abuse its powers."

	A	B	C	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Total West Germany</u>	6%	32%	30%	32%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10	43	32	15	816
Women	4	24	27	45	1000
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	30	29	34	1509
Beyond elementary	7	46	31	16	307
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	6	19	29	46	137
150 to 299 DM	8	24	31	37	286
300 to 399 DM	5	31	34	30	373
400 to 499 DM	7	38	29	26	302
500 DM and more	9	41	29	21	454
No answer	6	28	24	42	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>					
Very active	14	39	38	9	95
Somewhat active	6	41	33	20	559
Remainder	7	28	27	38	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	7	42	36	15	182
Upper middle classes	6	36	31	27	894
Lower middle classes	7	26	27	40	645
Lower classes	13	20	19	48	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	4	35	26	35	234
25 to 34 years	8	37	28	27	354
35 to 44 years	7	38	30	25	352
45 to 59 years	7	31	30	32	566
60 years and over	6	23	32	39	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	14	45	23	18	439
CDU/CSU	2	24	49	25	469
FDP	14	53	24	9	96
Other parties	10	34	35	21	95
No party	6	31	21	42	358
No opinion/No answer	3	22	21	54	359

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	A	B	C	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	11%	4.4%	28%	17%...100%	54
Businessmen	6	47	26	21	143
White-collar workers	9	41	31	19	209
Skilled laborers	11	41	33	15	213
Semi-skilled laborers	8	30	32	30	184
Domestic service	-	14	45	41	44
Farmers; farmhands	7	29	27	37	122
Housewives	5	26	28	41	569
Unemployed	9	39	22	30	23
Pensioners; retired	6	26	29	39	224
Students; apprentices	3	39	39	19	31
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	8	36	25	31	955
Protestants	6	26	36	32	806
Others	-	38	24	38	21
No religion	15	53	20	12	34
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	7	33	30	30	1444
Refugees; expellees	6	30	30	34	372
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	5	28	28	39	507
2,000 to 19,999	8	29	33	30	576
20,000 to 99,999	7	34	31	28	293
100,000 and more	8	39	27	26	440
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	7	38	26	29	193
Lower Saxony	7	33	23	37	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	28	33	32	515
Hesse	4	34	30	32	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	23	26	15	36	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	3	35	35	27	232
Bavaria	6	35	32	27	326

"Do you approve or disapprove of this view?

In our foreign policy we should act only for our own advantage since our Allies would also leave us in the lurch in an emergency."

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	36%	30%	34%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	41	38	21	816
Women	31	23	46	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	36	27	37	1509
Beyond elementary	33	46	21	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	33	15	52	137
150 to 299 DM	37	20	43	286
300 to 399 DM	38	32	30	373
400 to 499 DM	39	35	26	302
500 DM and more	36	39	25	454
No answer	26	25	49	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	38	49	13	95
Somewhat active	39	37	24	559
Remainder	34	25	41	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	35	43	22	182
Upper middle classes	36	34	30	894
Lower middle classes	35	24	41	645
Lower classes	35	10	55	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	33	31	36	234
25 to 34 years	38	34	28	354
35 to 44 years	38	33	29	352
45 to 59 years	36	29	35	566
60 years and over	33	23	44	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	50	31	19	439
CDU/CSU	30	40	30	469
FDP	47	38	15	96
Other parties	40	36	24	95
No party	34	22	44	358
No opinion/No answer	24	20	56	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	39	48	13	54
Businessmen	41	35	24	143
White-collar workers	34	43	23	209
Skilled laborers	45	35	20	213
Semi-skilled laborers	41	30	29	184
Domestic service	41	16	43	44
Farmers; farmhands	36	25	39	122
Housewives	31	24	45	569
Unemployed	43	22	35	23
Pensioners; retired	31	25	44	224
Students; apprentices	23	61	16	31

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	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	39%	30%	31%...100%	955
Protestants	31	30	39	806
Others	52	19	29	21
No religion	38	38	24	34
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	36	30	34	1444
Expellees; refugees	34	30	36	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	34	28	38	507
2,000 to 19,999	42	25	33	576
20,000 to 99,999	27	36	37	293
100,000 and more	36	35	29	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	25	45	30	193
Lower Saxony	40	24	36	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	31	33	36	575
Hesse	42	23	35	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	40	18	42	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	32	36	32	232
Bavaria	45	26	29	326

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"Do you see any threat to the political and social freedom of the individual in the following institutions?"

The unions

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	9%	56%	35%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	14	67	19	816
Women	6	47	47	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7	57	36	1509
Beyond elementary	19	55	26	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	7	42	51	137
150 to 299 DM	10	49	41	286
300 to 399 DM	8	61	31	373
400 to 499 DM	7	66	27	302
500 DM and more	12	64	24	454
No answer	10	41	49	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>				
Very active	18	74	8	95
Somewhat active	11	67	22	559
Remainder	8	50	42	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	21	55	24	182
Upper middle classes	10	61	29	894
Lower middle classes	6	53	41	645
Lower classes	6	43	51	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	7	57	36	234
25 to 34 years	11	60	29	354
35 to 44 years	10	62	28	352
45 to 59 years	9	56	35	566
60 years and over	10	46	44	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	3	76	21	439
CDU/CSU	14	58	28	469
FDP	23	62	15	96
Other parties	23	50	27	95
No party	11	46	43	358
No opinion/no answer	3	40	57	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	15	67	18	54
Businessmen	24	52	24	143
White-collar workers	10	71	19	209
Skilled laborers	8	76	16	213
Semi-skilled laborers	3	63	34	184
Domestic service	7	52	41	44
Farmers; farmhands	19	41	40	122
Housewives	6	49	45	569
Unemployed	-	61	39	23
Pensioners; retired	10	46	44	224
Students; apprentices	16	46	38	31
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9	57	34	955
Protestants	9	56	35	806
Others	5	62	33	21
No religion	18	62	20	34

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C Determined by political and organizational participation.

UNCLASSIFIED

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	9%	58%	33%	1444
Refugees; expellees	9	53	38	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	9	50	41	507
2,000 to 99,999	10	58	32	576
20,000 to 99,999	9	59	32	293
100,000 and more	9	60	31	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	14	54	32	193
Lower Saxony	11	48	41	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	7	60	33	515
Hesse	10	56	34	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	42	50	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	7	60	33	232
Bavaria	10	61	29	326

CONFIDENTIAL

"Do you see any threat to the political and social freedom
of the individual in the following institutions?"

The military

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	22%	43%	35%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27	52	21	816
Women	19	35	46	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	41	37	1509
Beyond elementary	23	54	23	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	15	32	53	137
150 to 299 DM	17	40	43	286
300 to 399 DM	22	42	36	373
400 to 499 DM	27	47	26	302
500 DM and more	27	49	24	454
No answer	17	39	44	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>				
Very active	27	62	11	95
Somewhat active	27	50	23	559
Remainder	20	38	42	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	24	56	20	182
Upper middle classes	23	46	31	894
Lower middle classes	22	36	42	645
Lower classes	13	32	55	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	25	37	38	234
25 to 34 years	28	40	32	354
35 to 44 years	24	48	28	352
45 to 59 years	22	43	35	566
60 years and over	11	45	44	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	37	37	26	439
CDU/CSU	13	59	28	469
FDP	29	60	11	96
Other parties	22	53	25	95
No party	22	35	43	358
No opinion/No answer	15	30	55	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	28	57	15	54
Businessmen	26	50	24	143
White-collar workers	22	52	26	209
Skilled laborers	30	52	18	213
Semi-skilled laborers	28	59	33	184
Domestic service	14	52	34	44
Farmers; farmhands	19	41	40	122
Housewives	19	35	46	569
Unemployed	22	35	43	23
Pensioners; retired	17	40	43	224
Students; apprentices	29	52	19	31
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	23	41	36	955
Protestants	20	45	35	806
Others	28	43	29	21
No religion	47	35	18	34

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	24%	43%	33%...100%	1444
Expellees; refugees	16	44	40	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	21	38	41	507
2,000 to 19,999	19	49	32	576
20,000 to 99,999	25	40	35	293
100,000 and more	26	42	32	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Homburg,				
Bremen	19	50	31	193
Lower Saxony	18	39	43	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	21	44	35	515
Hesse	22	44	34	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	15	39	46	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	25	42	33	232
B. varie	29	41	30	326

CONFIDENTIAL

"Do you see any threat to the political and social freedom
of the individual in the following institutions?"

Specific political parties

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	17%	42%	41%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	22	51	27	816
Women	12	35	53	1000
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	40	44	1509
Beyond elementary	19	51	30	307
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	11	31	58	137
150 to 299 DM	15	40	45	286
300 to 399 DM	13	47	40	373
400 to 499 DM	14	51	35	302
500 DM and more	27	43	30	454
No answer	12	32	56	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> @				
Very active	27	50	23	95
Somewhat active	23	48	29	559
Remainder	13	39	48	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	18	52	30	182
Upper middle classes	18	46	36	894
Lower middle classes	15	37	48	645
Lower classes	11	28	61	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	17	37	46	234
25 to 34 years	18	45	37	354
35 to 44 years	16	50	34	352
45 to 59 years	17	40	43	566
60 years and over	15	37	48	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	20	47	33	439
CDU/CSU	19	47	34	469
FDP	22	57	21	96
Other parties	20	46	34	95
No party	16	36	48	358
No opinion/No answer	9	31	60	359
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	28	50	22	54
Businessmen	17	52	31	143
White-collar workers	18	52	30	209
Skilled laborers	25	51	24	213
Semi-skilled laborers	15	44	41	184
Domestic service	11	43	46	44
Farmers; farmhands	18	36	46	122
Housewives	12	36	52	569
Unemployed	13	48	39	23
Pensioners; retired	17	34	49	224
Students; apprentices	29	32	39	31
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	17	42	41	955
Protestants	16	42	42	806
Others	24	33	43	21
No religion	26	47	27	34

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	16%	43%	41%	1,444
Expellees; refugees	19	38	43	372
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	15	39	46	507
2,000 to 19,999	19	42	39	576
20,000 to 99,999	19	42	39	293
100,000 and more	15	45	40	440
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	18	48	34	193
Lower Saxony	10	38	52	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	18	41	41	515
Hesse	16	43	41	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	27	62	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	20	50	30	232
Bavaria	20	42	38	326

"And can you name any leading figures in public life who, in your opinion, are too autocratic or have some authoritarian tendencies?"

	Yes, <u>Adenauer</u>	Yes, <u>others</u>	<u>No</u>	No <u>opinion</u>	No. of <u>cases</u>
<u>Total West Germany</u>	14%	8%	49%	29%...100%	1816
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	20	12	47	21	816
Women	9	5	50	36	1000
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	12	7	50	31	1509
Beyond elementary	20	13	45	22	307
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	10	4	44	42	137
150 to 299 DM	9	8	48	35	286
300 to 399 DM	15	8	52	25	373
400 to 499 DM	13	10	53	24	302
500 DM and more	17	10	49	24	454
No answer	13	5	43	39	264
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u>					
Very active	27	17	45	11	95
Somewhat active	18	10	50	22	559
Remainder	11	6	49	34	1162
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	20	8	54	18	182
Upper middle classes	13	10	50	27	894
Lower middle classes	13	6	46	35	645
Lower classes	17	5	36	42	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	9	6	50	35	234
25 to 34 years	15	8	49	28	354
35 to 44 years	17	8	50	25	352
45 to 59 years	13	9	50	28	566
60 years and over	13	7	46	34	310
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26	10	43	21	439
CDU/CSU	4	12	60	24	469
FDP	28	8	51	13	96
Other parties	17	15	47	21	95
No party	14	5	50	31	358
No opinion/No answer	7	3	40	50	359
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	30	6	46	18	54
Businessmen	17	7	51	25	143
White-collar workers	17	16	42	25	209
Skilled laborers	20	10	50	20	213
Semi-skilled laborers	13	8	50	29	184
Domestic service	7	7	52	34	44
Farmers; farmhands	8	9	49	34	122
Housewives	11	5	50	34	569
Unemployed	4	17	44	35	23
Pensioners; retired	12	7	47	34	224
Students; apprentices	16	3	68	13	31
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	16	7	47	30	955
Protestants	10	10	52	28	806
Others	19	14	33	34	21
No religion	38	6	41	15	34

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	<u>Yes,</u> <u>Adenauer</u>	<u>Yes,</u> <u>others</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No.</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	14%	8%	49%	29%..100%	1,444
Expellees, refugees	12	10	46	32	372
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	9	7	51	33	507
2,000 to 99,999	15	7	49	29	576
20,000 to 99,999	16	7	51	26	293
100,000 and more	16	10	46	28	440
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	12	8	49	31	193
Lower Saxony	15	7	36	42	247
North Rhine/Westphalia	13	7	52	28	515
Hesse	10	8	57	25	189
Rhineland/Palatinate	26	9	33	32	114
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	7	55	26	232
Bavaria	14	12	50	24	326

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